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ABSTRACT

The deprivations of poverty seriously restrict the ability of millions of rural Americans to develop their potential and obtain "quality of life". If development of potential is to be maximized and if deprivations are to be reduced, structural changes are needed. The 4 change approaches that encompass much purposive social change at the locality level are locality development, traditional planning, advocacy planning, and social action. It is also possible to characterize change activities in terms of positions along 2 sets of dimensions (vertical and horizontal) on which these approaches differ. The goals and structure of the People Mobile Project, which was conducted in Chenango County, New York, are summarized and the project is analyzed in terms of the 2 sets of dimensions. Some conclusions are suggested based on this analysis. Two of these are (1) the need for a new role--the "community support worker" and (2) the need for anti-poverty action on the State and national, as well as local levels. (Author/NQ)

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Rural Organization and Poverty Action

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A paper presented to a joint meeting
of the Society for the Study of Social
Problems and the Rural Sociological
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Abstract

The deprivations of poverty seriously restrict the ability of millions of rural Americans to develop their potential and obtain "quality of life". If development of potential is to be maximized, if deprivations are to be reduced, structural changes are needed.

Four change approaches encompass much purposive social change at the locality level. These are locality development, traditional planning, advocacy planning and social action. It is also possible to characterize change activities in terms of positions along two sets of dimensions on which approaches differ.

The goals and structure of the People Mobile Project which was conducted in Chenango County, New York, are summarized and the project is analyzed in terms of the two sets of dimensions. Finally some conclusions are suggested based on the analysis of the People Mobile Project. One of these is the need for a new role--the "community support worker". Another is the need for anti-poverty action on the state and national, as well as local levels.

Rural Organization and Poverty Action

Introduction

In 1964 President Johnson declared war on poverty in America. Although the battle was joined and some important skirmishes did occur, the war was a limited one. Now, a decade later, millions of Americans continue to suffer the deprivations of poverty. Almost as if there had been no war on poverty, millions of children continue to grow up in situations which severely restrict the development of their abilities and potential, millions of aged persons live out their years in loneliness and despair, and millions of heads of poverty families quietly wonder how they will "get by."

If we haven't yet made the needed commitment to eliminate poverty, at least now we know where to find it. We know it can be found on Indian reservations, in the Mississippi Delta, in Appalachia, and in the ghettos of our major cities. Extreme deprivations exist in the villages and along the roads in New England, in the agriculturally rich Corn Belt, in the Southwest... And poverty travels in the migrant labor streams. In short, we now know that poverty is a pervasive characteristic of our society. It is built into our patterns of social organization; it is an outgrowth of our political economy.

We also know that some of the most severe deprivations exist in rural areas. Poverty related problems in rural areas include employment and wage levels; problems in obtaining public assistance and levels of such payments; shortage of adequate housing; problems in obtaining adequate health and educational services; and lack of transportation to needed goods and services. In addition many rural poor persons have relatively low rates of social and political participation and many feel powerless

to influence the various agencies, programs and decisions which affect them. Many also have low levels of self esteem.

If the life situations of todays rural poor are to be improved, if their needs are to be met and if children in low-income families are to have opportunities to develop their potential, then social change must occur. And given the nature of poverty in America, change is needed at several levels. Change is needed to increase the responsiveness and effectiveness of local organizations and agencies with mandates to serve the poor, changes are needed in communities and changes are needed at the state and national levels.

Given the seriousness of rural poverty problems, the need for change, and the difficulty of achieving it, it is important to be able to analyze and understand anti-poverty efforts. In the following section we will present a framework for analyzing social change at the locality level. We will then apply the framework to a specific anti-poverty effort, The People Mobile Project. Finally we will suggest some conclusions about organization and anti-poverty efforts in rural areas.

A Framework for Analyzing Change Strategies

Our framework is an elaboration of Jack Rothman's, "Three Models of Community Organization Practice". (1972) In his important paper Rothman suggested that three models (and combinations thereof) can be used to describe much (but certainly not all) of the activities of persons and groups involved in purposive social change at the community level. He called these locality development, social action and social planning.

Rothman's locality development approach is basically the community development approach which has received much attention in rural sociological

literature and in United Nations publications on village level development activities.[1] Among the important characteristics of the locality development approach are its emphasis on development of indigenous leadership, local initiative, self-help, and participation by large numbers of community members. The roles of the change agents usually include those of enabler, coordinator and teacher of problem solving skills. Locality development projects usually involve specific task goals (e.g., building a community facility, such as a school), plus more general process goals concerned with developing community problem solving capacity. (Dunham, 1963; Rothman, 1972; Sanders, 1964). Examples of the locality development approach listed by Rothman (1972) include: "neighborhood work programs conducted by settlement houses; village level work in some overseas community development programs, including the Peace Corps; community work in the adult education field; and activities of the allied "group dynamics" professionals." The locality development approach is further summarized in Appendix Table 1.1.

Familiar examples of the Rothman's social action model include much of the early labor union activity, the civil rights activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), welfare rights advocacy of the National Welfare Rights Organization and the work of Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation.[2] The social action approach:

> "... presupposes a disadvantaged segment of the population that needs to be organized, perhaps in alliance with others, in order to make adequate

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[1] An example of the literature on this approach and an article which explores the assumptions behind the community development approach is "Community Development Programs in Sociological Perspective" by Sanders. (1964)

[2] For a statement of the philosophy behind much social action activity see Alinsky's, Reveille for Radicals (1946) and Sanders, The Professional Radical, Conversations with Saul Alinsky. (1965) See also Flacks, "On Participatory Democracy". (1970)

> demands on the larger community for increased resources or treatment more in accordance with social justice or democracy. It aims at making basic changes in major institutions or community practices. Social action as employed here seeks redistribution of power, resources, or decision making in the community and/or changing basic policies of formal organizations." (Rothman, 1972)

The social action approach is characterized by the use of contest strategies; change agent roles include: activist-advocate, agitator, broker, negotiator, and partisan. (Rothman, 1972) Additional characteristics of the social action approach are listed in Appendix Table 1.1.

The social planning approach is concerned with the application of technical skills and expertise to public problems, with emphasis on rational, deliberative decision making and planning. The approach is task oriented and community participation is usually not emphasized. As visualized by Rothman social planners gather facts, analyze situations, and use their technical skills to develop and implement programs.

> "The approach presupposes that change in a complex industrial environment requires expert planners who, through the exercise of technical abilities, including the ability to manipulate large bureaucratic organizations, can skillfully guide complex change processes." (Rothman, 1972)

Social planning is used at various levels of government and in numerous public agencies.[3] In recent years the social planning approach has received much attention in the areas of urban renewal and health planning.

Rothman's framework is useful as a guide both for analysis and for action. It is not without problems, however, and it is my contention that some changes in the framework will provide additional insights and

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[3] In his article on "The Science of Muddling Through," Lindblom (1970) raised serious questions about the extent to which rational social planning on complex problems does, or even can, occur.

will make it even more useful.

The major problem lies in Rothman's social planning model.[4] Within the field of planning a distinction should be made between what I will call "traditional" planning and "advocacy" planning. While both approaches are based on the application of technical skills to the planning process, in other respects they are very different. I have indicated some of these differences in Table 2 in the Appendix. (Table 2 is an elaboration of Table 1.1.) In row 2 of Table 2, we see that while the traditional planner is concerned with substantive social problems such as health and housing, the advocate planner is not only concerned with these but also with disadvantaged populations, with social injustice, deprivations and inequality. In row 4 of Table 2 the traditional planner tends to emphasize collaborative or campaign tactics (Warren, 1969) while the advocate planner is more likely to use conflict or contest tactics. Row 5 indicates that the most significant practitioner roles for the traditional planner are fact-gathering, analysis, and program implementation. The advocate planner emphasizes these but also performs activist-advocate roles. In row 7 traditional planners are usually employed or sponsored by members of the power structure while the power structure is a target for action for advocate planners (even though advocate planners are sometimes employed in "establishment" positions). The traditional planner usually defines the total community or client system as the client system or constituency while the advocate planner is primarily concerned with the interests of a population segment (row 8). The traditional planner is likely either not to be concerned

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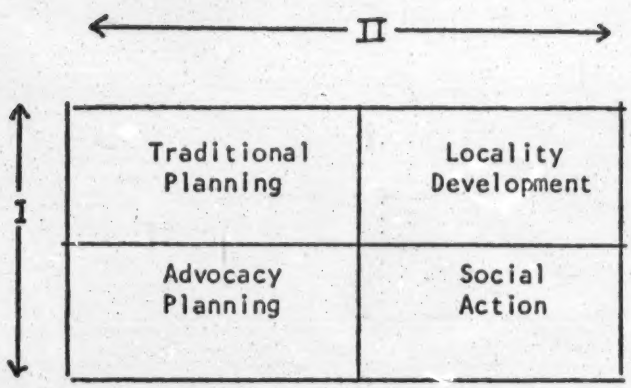
[4] The problem was first called to my attention by students from the Department of City and Regional Planning during my seminar on Social Power and Community Change at Cornell University.

about whose interests are being served or to assume that the interest of community members are reconcilable; to the advocate planner community interests are not easily reconcilable (row 9). And so on ... (See Appendix Table 2.)

Splitting social planning into traditional planning and advocacy planning makes it possible to present the four change approaches in a four-fold table. When the approaches are arranged as in Figure 1, some important relationships between the approaches appear. Most importantly we see that on one set of dimensions (the vertical dimensions) traditional planning and locality development are similar and can be paired; advocacy planning and social action can also be paired. On another set of dimensions (the horizontal dimensions) the two planning approaches are paired (similar) and locality development and social action are paired. Examination of these vertical and horizontal dimensions (Figure 1) reveals that the covariation of the dimensions (and thus the pairing combinations) is not merely coincidental.

Compared with traditional planning and locality development, change agents using advocacy planning or social action are more likely: to view members of the power structure as targets for action rather than as allies or employers (IA in Figure 1), to assume that the interests of the various population segments are in conflict rather than reconcilable (to see issue dissensus rather than issue consensus or issue difference (Warren, 1969)) (IB in Figure 1), to claim to be serving only a population segment rather than the interests of all community members (IC), to see persons they are serving as victims rather than consumers or citizens (ID) and, thus, they are more likely to use conflict or contest strategies, rather than collaborative or campaign strategies (IE). Because their activities are often controversial and they are subject to reprisals,



I. Vertical Dimensions

A. Orientation toward power structure--as allies or employers or as targets.

B. Extent to which interests of population segments are viewed as reconcilable.

C. Extent to which client system is assumed to be the entire community rather than a population segment.

D. Extent to which those in whose interests change is to occur are viewed as citizens or consumers rather than victims.

E. Willingness of change agents and partisans to use conflict (or contest) strategies.

F. Degree of commitment required of change agents and partisans.

II. Horizontal Dimension

A. Task oriented vs. process oriented

B. Emphasis on rational-technical analysis and decision making

FIGURE I A Framework for Analyzing Change Strategies at the Community Level.

if they are to continue their activities over an extended period of time, change agents and partisans involved in social action and advocacy planning must have a high level of commitment (IF).

Compared with locality development and social action, change agents using either of the two planning approaches are somewhat more likely: to be task oriented rather than process oriented (II A) and to emphasize rational-technical decision making based on research and expertise (II B).

Because of these pairings of strategies on the two sets of dimensions the likelihood of moving directly from one strategy to another is greater if the two strategies are adjacent than if they are diagonally opposite in Figure 2. This is because strategies which are adjacent are similar on at least some of the eight dimensions discussed above (on one set) while strategies which are diagonally opposite are different on all eight dimensions (on both sets). Thus, for example, change agents using traditional planning would be more likely to move to locality development or advocacy planning than to social action, since either of these moves would only require change along one set of dimensions rather than both. This is not to suggest, however, that change across the diagonals on Figure 2 is impossible but rather that it is less likely and that when it does occur it is likely to be dramatic.

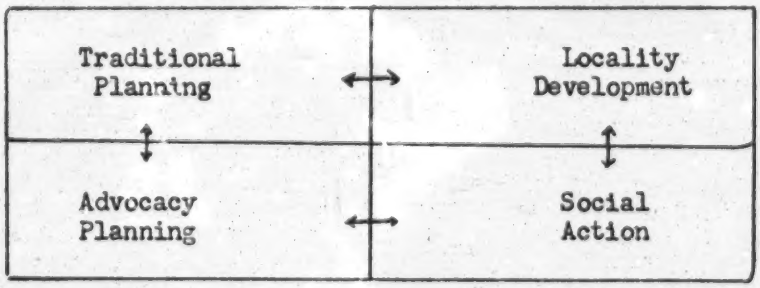


FIGURE 2. Predicted Paths of Movement Among Strategies.

Our presentation so far shares a problem with Rothman's presentation. This is the problem of possible reification of the approaches (strategies). The four approaches are ideal types and are presented as an aid for categorizing, analyzing and understanding activity. In reality, change agents can be expected to mix strategies. And any particular change agent or group of partisans will not necessarily assume the same position on all of the dimensions in either the horizontal or vertical sets. For these reasons it is useful to present our framework for analyzing change approaches in terms of only the dimensions and without the labels of the four ideal typical approaches. This we have done in Figure 3.

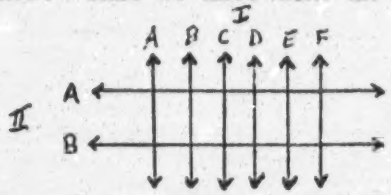


FIGURE 3. Paired Dimensions of Social Change

Some may find Figure 3 more satisfying than Figures 1 and 2 since Figure 3 more explicitly suggests variation along continua rather than discrete categories of action. Figure 3 suggests that in characterizing a change program it may be more accurate to describe it in terms of the eight dimensions rather than simply in terms of the four categories or approaches.

Many, if not most, change programs will involve substrategies or tactics which will differ from each other on one or more of the eight dimensions. Thinking, again, in terms of the four change approaches (or categories) it is possible for any particular change program to use not just one approach but a combination of them. In a given program, for example, the social action, locality development and advocacy planning approaches might all be used. This was the case in the program we turn to now.

The People Mobile Project

Objectives of the People Mobile Project

The original[5] People Mobile Project (hereafter referred to as the People Mobile) was conducted during the summer of 1971 and was a component of a larger anti-poverty effort, the Chenango Development Project (hereafter the CDP). The CDP was a joint research and action project funded by the state of New York and administered by the New York State Cooperative Extension Service and the Agricultural Experiment Station at Cornell University. Those involved in the CDP hoped to study the effectiveness of various change strategies in rural areas by using them on a experimental basis. In addition they hoped to have a significant impact on quality of life in the county in which the project was conducted, Chenango County, New York. The CDP employed what I have called an "adaptive approach." This approach and some of the problems encountered in the CDP are discussed elsewhere. (Stockdale, 1973)

As a component of the CDP, the People Mobile was intended to contribute to the overall objectives of the CDP. Specifically it provided a way of establishing contact and establishing rapport with low-income families and individuals, a way of getting information on the problems and needs of the poor, and a base for organizing. The People Mobile, then, was a way to reach low-income residents of Chenango County and involve them in the CDP. There were also objectives which were specific to the People Mobile itself.

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[5] I say "original" People Mobile Project because in 1973 a new People Mobile Project was begun. This project is also directed by Ms. Judi Schubmehl Clippinger, who directed the original People Mobile. My discussion is only of the original People Mobile Project.

It was intended that the People Mobile would:

(1) "Bring information to low income residents in rural areas about the general social and educational services in Chenango County.

(2) Help individuals solve their specific problems, as defined by the people themselves, by referring them to appropriate agencies or seeking help in other ways.

(3) Experiment with ways of bringing together the persons in need of help and representatives of agencies, and

(4) Provide the college-age summer assistants with an educational experience." (Farley, 1971)

Structure and Process

In her evaluation of the People Mobile, Farley (1971) provided a concise overview of the project. According to Farley:

"...the Chenango Development Project staff obtained a used schoolbus; painted it red, white and blue; staffed it with college-age summer assistants; and sent it out to reach county residents who needed help. Each student was to have special areas of expertise (e.g., services offered by different agencies)."

"The project was guided by a Cornell University faculty group....which had been formed to advise the Chenango Development Project as a whole."

"Project staff included (two)[6] Cooperative Extension Specialists...and (a)[7] Research Associate..."

"The staff invited representatives of the agencies in the county to form a Chenango Advisory Committee to provide local perspective on problems as they arose and to expore possibilities for inter-agency action."

"The training program (for the seven summer assistants)[8] was undertaken in Chenango County. It consisted of five day-long sessions..."

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[6] Added
[7] Added
[8] Added

"The Peoplemobile launched out for its first trip on June 24, 1971. Between that date and August 19, 1971, the bus traveled 1,590 miles. The summer assistants and staff members logged an additional 5,358 miles on return trips, ferrying county residents to agencies and bringing needed information back into the rural communities."

"The Peoplemobile provided information to approximately 200 individuals or families. Of these, 41 were classified as "cases," because the summer assistants and staff met with them more than once, provided them with transportation to a pertinent agency, or returned with further information to help solve their problems."

"The bus was set up to have a play area for children and a comfortable area where persons wanting information could talk with the Summer Assistants. Pamphlets, bulletins, and posters provided by the agencies were on display. There was a mobile telephone so that immediate information could be provided when the bus's hours coincided with those of the agencies."

"The Peoplemobile had regularly scheduled stops on four days a week. Some areas were visited weekly and others, every other week. The bus made its rounds in the late afternoon and evening during the latter part of the summer since early experience with morning visits were unsuccessful since most people were not at home then. Evening visits appeared to be the most successful as husband and wife could discuss problems together."

"The total cost of the program, excluding contributed staff time and faculty time, was estimated at $8,180, ... "

In addition to providing information and referrals, the summer assistants and the CDP staff also accompanied low-income persons to agencies, assisted them in organizing to handle problems on a group rather than an individual basis and were generally supportive of them and their efforts to improve their situations. The staff and summer assistants responded to the "clear need for workers who would support poor people and be their advocates, rather than just transmit information to them." (Farley, 1971). The staff and summer assistants also met weekly with agency representatives in the Chenango Advisory Committee and discussed specific problems experienced by low-income persons in obtaining services.

The Framework for Analyzing Change Strategies Applied to the People Mobile

Three of the four change approaches, social action, locality development and advocacy planning, were used in the People Mobile or in the activities of the CDP which derived from the People Mobile. Different components of the project involved different positions on the eight dimensions presented in Figure 1.

On the first dimension, IA, the power structure was not unitary; some power actors were cultivated as allies while others were targets for action. Which persons were likely to assist, ignore or oppose varied from issue to issue. On the issue of helping poor families obtain public assistance payments, for example, although some support was evident within the Department of Social Services and other agencies, in general change was opposed. Because of this low-income persons were assisted in organizing for group action and in locating legal assistance. The tactics used in developing a Legal Services Corporation were quite different. In this case it was possible to generate a great deal of support among local power actors, especially lawyers, and a combination of the locality development and advocacy planning approaches was used.

The question about possible conflicts of interest between population segments (Dimension IB) seemed to boil down to a question of to what extent powerful population segments would be influenced by efforts to aid the poor. Providing information and referrals was not necessarily seen as conflict producing as long as it had little impact on the existing agency structure and expenditures. Referrals to the Department of Social Services and information on welfare rights was, however, a source of strong reactions since it was perceived that ultimately such activities would result in

increased public assistance expenditures and thus higher taxes. The advisors to the People Mobile (and the CDP) were often encouraged by local influentials to emphasize economic growth rather than redistribution. Careful analysis indicated, however, that at least some redistribution, especially of power, was needed in Chenango County before significant changes in the situations of most poor families would occur.

The People Mobile was specifically concerned with low-income persons (Dimension IC) and thus most of its activities were designed to assist this specific population segment. Of course, some of the problems of the poor were shared by other community members, e.g., access to quality health care and employment problems, and these also received attention from the CDP.

The persons involved in the CDP never reached agreement on whether the poor should be viewed as citizens with particular problems or as victims of the arrangements of power and privilege in the county (Dimension ID). It was clear that the poor were suffering deprivations of various kinds -- that employment was scarce and wages were generally low, that low-income persons had little input into decision making in agencies which were supposed to serve them and in local government, and that some agencies, especially the Department of Social Services, were frequently unresponsive to specific situations of need. There was not agreement, however, on why this was so and what should be done about it. Some saw this as a problem of communication and community development; others interpreted it as a result of the distribution of power in the county.

This lack of agreement led to difficulties in obtaining agreement on which strategies were most appropriate for bringing change (Dimension IE).

Some felt the use of contest strategies was essential, others thought more change would be accomplished in the long run if conflict were minimized. A mixture of strategies was actually used, with the selection being made (at least to some extent) on the basis of perceptions of both short run and long run effectiveness in bringing about change. Providing information and referrals to low-income persons and organizing the interagency council involved little or no conflict. Organizing a low-income group, which subsequently staged a demonstration seeking changes in the employment situation, in wage levels, and in the activities of the Department of Social Services, generated considerable conflict, as did providing support to low-income persons by accompanying them to fair hearings at the Department of Social Services. Newspaper articles and TV appearances in which problems in the county were discussed were also resented by some members of the local power structure.

Since some contest strategies were used in the People Mobile and later in the CDP, a high level of commitment was needed not only by the field staff but also by Cornell faculty members who supported the use of such strategies (Dimension IF). Although one of the goals of the overall CDP project was to test an adaptive approach, in which strategies would be selected on the basis of effectiveness, once the project was underway there was continual pressure from power actors in the county and some administrators in Cooperative Extension and the Agricultural Experiment Station at Cornell to minimize the use of approaches which might generate conflict. (Stockdale, 1973)

The People Mobile had both task goals and process goals (Dimension IIA). The primary task goal was one of assisting low-income persons in obtaining access to needed goods and services. An important process goal was that of helping low-income persons develop their skills in relating effectively to each

other and to agencies and decision making bodies. Another important process goal was that of developing patterns of interaction among agency personnel. An important task goal of the CDP, which was an outgrowth of the People Mobile, was the development of the Legal Services Corporation. In this activity staff members of the CDP along with other persons with legal expertise served as organizers and advocate planners (Dimension IIB).

In the actual operations of the People Mobile, providing information, making referrals, providing organizational skills and providing social-emotional support were emphasized.

The above points suggest that it would not be accurate to characterize the People Mobile and the CDP activities which grew out of it in terms of only one of the four change strategies. It would be more accurate to suggest that the position along the eight dimensions varied from one dimension to another and according to the specific change being sought. In terms of Figure 1 it appears that many of the activities which were part of, or grew out of, the People Mobile could be characterized as involving social action, others as locality development and one (the Legal Services Corporation) as involving advocacy planning. As the People Mobile progressed, those involved in working directly with the poor developed clear preferences for social action. Pressures on the project from local power actors and Cornell administrators were, on the other hand, toward increased reliance on locality development.

Rural Organization and Poverty Action

Although the following conclusions derive primarily from analysis of the People Mobile and the CDP, they are also consistent with my general understanding, based on other research and action experiences, of rural

poverty problems and strategies for change. First we will consider the People Mobile Project itself as a part of the CDP and as a vehicle for change, then we will move to some more general conclusions about change in rural communities.

The People Mobile was very useful to the overall CDP, especially as a way of making contact and developing rapport with low-income families. Although a survey of problems and needs was conducted in the county, the information gained through the People Mobile was more complete and much more useful. The reports of the summer assistants provided insights into the life situations of poor families that were not obtained, and probably could not have been obtained, with survey methods. The People Mobile was also effective as a way of rapidly establishing contact by the CDP staff with a large number of low-income persons. The people contacted through the CDP formed a basis for organizing and for developing other programs.

The People Mobile provided important information, referral and support services to poor persons in Chenango County, and as such is a useful model for change projects. The People Mobile demonstrated the usefulness of, and the need for, a specific kind of action role -- "the community support worker". What is needed are people to work directly with poor persons, to meet them in an open and supportive way, to assist them in defining their problems and in seeking solutions for them, to go with them, if necessary, to relevant agencies and even, upon occasions, to serve as an advocate. This is a role which could be performed by paraprofessionals. In rural counties this role has sometimes been performed by VISTA's, by public health nurses, and by nutrition aides. But often this has not been defined as a legitimate role for such programs and the particular persons who have performed such a role have done so at the risk of their jobs. The need for such a role was suggested by one of the People Mobile summer assistants and by

a member of the staff,

> "The Peoplemobile is the only group that goes to the people and asks what it can do for them, no restrictions or boundaries, no agency framework to conform to, no supervisors to be coddled or pleased ..." (Farley, 1971)

> "We definitely found that the need is not simply for information about what's available, but for a new kind of worker, who isn't tied to any single agency or service but can be flexible and can aid families in defining their problems, digesting information about what is available, and in choosing among services or solutions ..." (Farley, 1971)

Our first more general conclusion has to do with the structure of community power. The conclusion is that power structure analysis should be fairly sophisticated. It is not sufficient as a basis for action, to decide that in general power structures are elitist or pluralistic. Power relations are more complex than this, with the patterns varying from community to community and often from issue to issue. The situation in many rural communities is undoubtedly similar to that in Chenango County, with representation in most decisions coming from a relatively small percent of the population, with few if any persons participating in all issues, and with the degree of unity among power actors varying from issue to issue. This suggests that which strategy will be most effective in attaining a particular goal will depend not only on some overall arrangement of power relations but also on the way power actors can be expected to relate on that particular issue.

It is not likely that the interests of all population segments will be reconcilable on all issues nor that they will be irreconcilable on all. Specific issues should be examined in order to determine whether the situation is one of issue concensus, issue difference or issue dissensus (Warren, 1969). It is clear, however, that many issues involving the poor

will involve issue dissensus. Thus, change agents and partisans who refuse to use contest tactics will, of necessity, operate within a limited range of situations and issues. And attempts to significantly alter the distribution of goods, services, power or prestige in rural communities will result in at least some conflict regardless of the methods used.

It has been suggested that social change approaches are sometimes mixed in change programs. There are limits, however, on the extent to which this can be done successfully since the use of any one strategy will influence the effectiveness of others. In the CDP, for example, the use of contest strategies created difficulties for the locality development activities. It may be a truism that if people think they or their privileges are being attacked, those with the power to react against their perceived attacker will usually do so. The reaction will not necessarily be restricted to the sphere in which the attack occured and sometimes the reaction will take a repressive form. In considering possible movement from the social action approach to locality development (and from advocacy planning to traditional planning) and vice versa it should be remembered that the approaches differ on at least six dimensions (IA-IF in Figure 1); that they involve very different assumptions about the nature of the situation and employ different and sometimes conflicting courses of action. Thus a decision to emphasize social action will usually restrict ones ability to use locality development, both concurrently and in the future. On the other hand, a decision to emphasize locality development will usually result in restricted willingness to use the contest strategies which characterize the social action approach because the use of such strategies would threaten the consensus, "good will," and open communications which are so important in the locality development approach.

Most change agents are not independent actors. Most are at least somewhat dependent on a sponsoring agency or funding source. Thus many, if not most, change programs are subject to what I call the "dilemma of the successful action program" -- if your goal is strongly redistributive and you start to be successful, then your funds get cut off. Probably the classic example of this was the OEO legal assistance program in California.

This is related to another conclusion from the CDP and the People Mobile. Anyone expecting to significantly alter the life situations of poor Americans in rural communities is in for a long hard struggle and will need a high level of commitment.

The final conclusion about rural organization and poverty action is certainly not original. It still bears repeating, however. While some change can be accomplished by working at the local level, poverty is a national phenomena, growing out of our national political economy. If this nation ever really becomes serious about eliminating the deprivations now experienced by millions of poor families, than a variety of activities at the community, state and national levels will be needed. In the meantime change agents and partisans at the local level will be most effective if they select change approaches and tactics very carefully and on the basis of critical analysis.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1.1

Rothman: Three Models of Community Organization Practice*

According to Selected Practice Variables

	Model A (Locality Development)	Model B (Social Planning)	Model C (Social Action)
1. Goal categories of community action	Self-help; community capacity and integration (process goals)	Problem-solving with regard to substantive community problems (task goals)	Shifting of power relationships and resources; basic institutional change (task or process goals)
2. Assumptions concerning community structure and problem conditions	Community eclipsed, anomie; lack of relationships and democratic problem-solving capacities: static traditional community	Substantive social problems: mental and physical health, housing, recreation	Disadvantaged populations, social injustice, deprivation, inequity
3. Basic change strategy	Broad cross section of people involved in determining and solving their own problems	Fact-gathering about problems and decisions on the most rational course of action	Crystallization of issues and organization of people to take action against enemy targets
4. Characteristic change tactics and techniques	Consensus: communication among community groups and interests; group discussion	Consensus or conflict	Conflict or contest: confrontation, direct action, negotiation
5. Salient practitioner roles	Enabler-catalyst, coordinator; teacher of problem-solving skills and ethical values	Fact-gatherer and analyst, program implementer, facilitator	Activist-advocate: agitator, broker, negotiator, partisan
6. Medium of change	Manipulation of small task-oriented groups	Manipulation of formal organizations and of data	Manipulation of mass organizations and political processes
7. Orientation toward power structure(s)	Members of power structure as collaborators in a common venture	Power structure as employers and sponsors	Power structure as external target of action: oppressors to be coerced or overturned

TABLE 1.1 continued

	Model A (Locality Development)	Model B Social Planning)	Model C (Social Action)
8. Boundary definition of the community client system or constituency	Total geographic community	Total community or community segment (including "functional community)	Community segment
9. Assumptions regarding interests of community subparts	Common interests or reconcilable differences	Interests reconcilable or in conflict	Conflicting interests which are not easily reconcilable: scarce resources
10. Conception of the public interest	Rationalist-unitary	Idealist-unitary	Realist-individualist
11. Conception of the client population or constituency	Citizens	Consumers	Victims
12. Conception of client role	Participants in interactional problem-solving process	Consumers or receipients	Employers, constituents, members

* Source: Rothman, Jack, "Three Models of Community Organization Practice," Cox, F. M., et.al. (eds.), Second Edition, Strategies of Community Organization, Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1972, pp. 26-27.

APPENDIX

Table 2

FOUR APPROACHES TO SOCIAL CHANGE AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

	Locality Development	Traditional Planning	Advocacy Planning	Social Action
1. Goal categories of community action	Self-help; community capacity and integration (process goals)	Problem-solving with regard to substantive community problems (task goals)	Problem-solving with regard to sub-community problems, shifting of resources (task goals)	Shifting of power relationships and resources; basic institutional chan (task or process go
2. Assumptions concerning community structure and problem conditions	Community eclipsed, anomie; lack of relationships and democratic problem-solving capacities: static traditional community	Substantive social problems: mental and physical health, housing, recreation	Disadvantaged populations, social injustice, inequity	Disadvantaged popu lations, social injustice, depri vation, inequity
3. Basic change strategy	Broad cross section of people involved in determining and solving their own problems	Fact-gathering about problems and decisions on the most rational course of action	Fact-gathering about problems and decisions to represent interests of client population	Crystallization of issues and organiz tion of peopie to take action agains enemy targets
4. Characteristic change tactics and techniques	Consensus: communication among community groups and interests; group discussion	Consensus	Campaign or contest	Conflict or contes confrontation, dir action, negotiatio
5. Salient practitioner roles	Enabler-catalyst, coordinator; teacher of problem-solving skills and ethical values	Fact-gatherer and analyst, program implementer, facilitator	Fact-gatherer and analyst plus activist-advocate, partisan	Activist-advocate: agitator, broker negotiator, partis
6. Medium of change	Manipulation of small task-oriented groups	Manipulation of formal organizations and data	Manipulation of data and of program support by client population	Manipulation of ma organizations and political processe

Table 2 (continued)

	Locality Development	Traditional Planning	Advocacy Planning	Social Action
7. Orientation toward power structure(s)	Members of power structure as collaborators in a common venture	Power structure as employers and sponsors	Power structure as target for action	Power structure a external target o action: oppresso to be coerced or overturned
8. Boundary definition of the community client system or constituency	Total geographic community	Total community or community segment	Community segment	Community segment
9. Assumptions regarding interests of community subparts	Common interests or reconcilable differences	Common interests or reconcilable differences	Conflicting interests which are not easily reconcilable: scarce resources	Conflicting inter which are not eas reconcilable: sca resources
10. Conception of the public interest	Rationalist-unitary	Idealist-unitary	Realist-individualist	Realist-individualist
11. Conception of the client population or constituency	Citizens	Consumers	Victims	Victims
12. Conception of client role	Participants in interactional problem-solving process	Consumers or recipients	Constituents and consumers or recipients	Employers, constituents, members